

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**The Army Special Operations Forces Role in Force Projection**

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The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

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## ABSTRACT

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President George W. Bush summarized his National Security Strategy in a speech to West Point cadets in June 2002 when he stated, "If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act." The new, pre-emptive National Security Strategy, referred to by many as the "Bush Doctrine," will have a significant impact on the military role in power projection. This strategy research project addresses the role of U.S. Army Special Operations Forces (ARSOF) in power projection, how this role supports the pre-emptive "Bush Doctrine," and provides an operational concept for the employment of ARSOF which includes the potential impact of information operations, theater security cooperation plans, military transformation and Joint Presence Policy.



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## THE ARMY SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES ROLE IN FORCE PROJECTION

President George W. Bush summarized his recently published National Security Strategy in a speech to West Point cadets in June 2002 when he stated, "If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act."<sup>1</sup> The new, pre-emptive National Security Strategy, referred to by many as the "Bush Doctrine," will have a significant impact on the military role in power projection. Implementing guidance and operational concepts regarding the impact of military power projection on information operations, theater security cooperation activities, military transformation and Joint Presence Policy must be addressed now in order to ensure the transition from a containment strategy to a strategy of pre-emption is successful. Many supporters and critics of the new National Security Strategy are currently preoccupied with the potential war in Iraq, however shortfalls identified in a supporting document, the National Military Strategy, must be addressed immediately to ensure efficient and effective military power projection.

Shortfalls in the National Military Strategy include the Army Special Operations Forces role in critical areas of power projection including information operations, theater security cooperation activities, transformation and Joint Presence Policy. United States Army Special Operations Forces (ARSOF), consisting of Special Forces, Rangers, Psychological Operations, Civil Affairs, Special Operations Support and Special Operations Aviation are uniquely organized, trained and equipped--especially in light of their recent and ongoing role in the war on terrorism and their current worldwide engagement posture--to assume a lead role in supporting the National Military Strategy objectives while leading the way for transformational change across all military services. A robust, capabilities-based ARSOF task force forward deployed and continuously engaged with joint and combined military forces will meet the National Security Strategy and National Military Strategy objectives.

### BACKGROUND

Power projection is the ability of the United States to apply all the necessary elements of national power (military, economic, diplomatic, and informational) at the place and time necessary to achieve national security objectives.<sup>2</sup> An effective and demonstrated power projection capability can promote security and deter the aggression of potential adversaries, demonstrate resolve, and if necessary, enable successful military operations anywhere in the world.

The National Security Strategy (NSS), published in September 2002, states that the primary security objective is to protect the United States and its allies from rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction.<sup>3</sup> The response to national security threats must take full advantage of strengthened alliances, the establishment of new partnerships with former adversaries, innovation in the use of military forces, modern technologies (including the development of an effective missile defense system) and increased emphasis on intelligence collection and analysis.<sup>4</sup>

The National Military Strategy (NMS) further outlines the objectives, operational concepts and resources required for successful implementation of the NSS. The NMS objectives include: defend the United States Homeland, promote security and deter aggression, win the Nation's wars, and ensure military superiority.<sup>5</sup> To achieve these objectives, the strategy calls for the execution of multiple, simultaneous and synchronized military operational concepts. These concepts are designed to protect the U.S. Homeland and interest abroad, prevent conflict and unwarned attacks, and prevail against adversaries in a wide range of possible contingencies, today and tomorrow.<sup>6</sup>

Protecting the United States is a demanding mission in the homeland and overseas. Protection includes the military's "total force" mission of homeland security which includes the protection planning required for unanticipated contingencies and the use of all military assets, conventional as well as ARSOF. Homeland security is an interagency, interdepartmental mission which includes many activities associated with the "total force," and includes the Army and Air Force National Guard and reserve military forces. The NMS further states that overseas protection is the first line-of-defense, with trained and ready joint forces capable of deterring adversaries, responding to aggression, and countering coercion.<sup>7</sup>

The NMS states that prevention requires the presence of forces and capabilities in key regions--as outlined in the combatant commanders theater security cooperation plans--to signal U.S. commitment and provide the means to enhance stability and security, deter aggression, defend national interests, and reduce the probability of conflict.<sup>8</sup> First line-of-defense forces, as well as forces war-traced for contingency operations and war plans, are identified in the Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan (JSCP). In order to successfully achieve the objectives and operational concepts identified in the NMS - in particular prevailing against adversaries in a wide range of possible contingencies - the NMS states that military power will be projected and employed from dispersed locations to overwhelm any adversary and control any situation, while maintaining the flexibility to rapidly conduct and sustain multiple, simultaneous missions in geographically separated and environmentally diverse regions of the world.<sup>9</sup>

The military element of power projection is force projection. Force projection is the demonstrated ability to alert, mobilize, and deploy rapidly in order to operate effectively anywhere in the world.<sup>10</sup> Force projection is an integral part of the NMS objective of *promoting security and deterring aggression*. Projecting force into a distant theater without military forces already in place to slow the enemy advance, and protecting the infrastructure required to receive the incoming friendly forces and the forces themselves until they can establish their own defenses, are extremely difficult.<sup>11</sup> A robust, capabilities-based ARSOF task force forward deployed and engaged with joint and combined forces will meet NMS objectives. The requirement to preemptively project this capabilities-based force is one of the most difficult, demanding, and resource intensive aspects of the NMS.

For instance, ARSOF provide the President and Secretary of Defense military options with finer precision, more rapid response, and a smaller footprint than a major military commitment.<sup>12</sup> Special Forces are capable of influencing indigenous populations and host country military forces to promote, encourage and execute military missions designed to achieve our national interest. Psychological operations seek to positively influence the actions and opinions of indigenous populations and militaries through information operations designed to achieve our national interests. Civil Affairs assists in building the foundations for civil societies that will endure even in the absence of U.S. forces. Rangers, Special Operations Support and Special Operations Aviation activities may have a less direct impact on indigenous populations and militaries, but play an integral role in shaping the strategic environment within which all ARSOF elements conduct operations. ARSOF core and collateral missions do not compete with conventional forces, but instead compliment or enhance conventional force operations and offer the combatant commander relevant capabilities not resident in conventional force structure. Current ARSOF core missions and collateral activities are depicted in table 1.<sup>13</sup>

Missions	Collateral Activities
Unconventional Warfare (UW) Foreign Internal Defense (FID) Psychological Operations (PSYOP) Civil Affairs (CA) Information Operations (IO) Direct Action (DA) Special Reconnaissance (SR) Combatting Terrorism (CBT) Counterproliferation (CP) of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)	Coalition Support Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR) Counterdrug (CD) Activities Countermine (CM) Activities Humanitarian Assistance (HA) Security Assistance(SA) Special Activities

TABLE 1 ARSOF CORE AND COLLATERAL MISSIONS

ARSOF are uniquely structured, and can be easily task-organized, to meet the protecting role outlined in the NMS. An ARSOF task force is capable of providing state-of-the-art aviation, focused logistics, and rapid response crisis resolution capabilities in any operational theater at a fraction of the costs involved in deploying and sustaining a larger, conventional force. ARSOF provide the most relevant, flexible, capable, adaptable, and economical force in the military service inventory. ARSOF are not just designed, organized or forward stationed solely for unique missions, but are fully capable of task organizing to accomplish a variety of missions to include peacekeeping, information operations, theater security cooperation activities, homeland defense, forward presence in support of Joint Presence Policy, and force projection. Army National Guard and Reserve ARSOF are routinely called to active duty to participate in combatant commander theater security cooperation activities and contingency operations including Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Joint Forge in Bosnia. Two of seven Special Forces Groups are found in the Army National Guard, and the overwhelming majority of Civil Affairs forces reside in the Army reserves.

An ARSOF task force, consisting of a Special Forces battalion, company level special operations aviation and support units, a Ranger platoon, and detachment level Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations, will significantly increase the capability and flexibility of all U.S. forward-stationed and deployed forces. The ARSOF task force has an inherent ability to organize, train, equip, mold and lead coalition, indigenous, and surrogate groups into a capable, competent, and viable force. The ARSOF task force is capable of not only force projection, but is also useful in the social-work and policing dimensions embedded in forward presence.

The ARSOF task force, forward deployed and continuously engaged with joint and combined forces, would deploy for not more than 180 days and support two task force deployments per year in each combatant commander's area of responsibility. ARSOF must be force structured to provide forces deployed, forces preparing to deploy, transitional forces and forces being maintained. The continuous deployment of a select, JSCP apportioned ARSOF task force will assist in establishing steady-state force levels in critical regions around the world, allow synchronization of deployments of U.S. forces, and facilitate cross-Service trades for presence and deterrence. An ARSOF task force provides an economical model to assist in planning for conventional force requirements and allows for better coordination in managing the readiness and operational tempo of all U.S. forces.

With *appropriate resources*, ARSOF are fully capable of developing the core capability of a Joint Force that takes an "in-stride" approach to transformation by integrating new information technologies, operational concepts, and organizational improvements, while maintaining near-

term operational effectiveness. ARSOF are fully capable of economically and efficiently achieving the Protect, Prevent and Prevail operational imperatives required by the NMS.

The Quadrennial Defense Review 2001 (QDR) offered several initiatives and recommendations to accomplish the ambitious objectives and operational concepts identified in the NMS. Information operations, theater security cooperation plans, military transformation, and Joint Presence Policy are all critical areas where a continuously deployed ARSOF task force can make a relevant, long term contribution to the success of military's ability to project force.

#### **THE TRANSFORMED BATTLEFIELD: AN ARSOF OBJECTIVE FORCE CONCEPT**

In order to execute the ambitious pre-emptive strategy and defeat threats before they fully materialize as required by the NSS and NMS, all elements of national power must be continuously engaged. Continuous engagement requires that threats, operational concepts and long-term strategic goals be identified early and cooperation strategies be developed, approved and resourced prior to execution. The NSS must clearly state the threats to the Nation and identify the near and far-term security concerns and national objectives. Once the immediate threats and concerns have been identified, military, economic, political, and informational strategies can be developed that outline goals and objectives required to deter or negate those threats and concerns. Ideally, the National Security Agency then synchronizes all goals and objectives, and provides Congress with a long term strategy for approval and resource allocation. Once the NSS is approved and resourced, the NMS is then returned to the Secretary of Defense for execution.

ARSOF are ideally suited to provide this continuous level of force projection. Joint military joint and combined forces can escalate as required to meet unforeseen or immediate threats, but ARSOF are continuously on-hand to immediately enhance force build-up or demonstrate resolve. Ideally, under the National Security Agency synchronized and congressionally approved and resourced NMS, military forces are continuously deployed executing information operations, theater security cooperation activities, transformation experiments and exercises, and fulfilling Joint Presence Policy while meeting force projection requirements. Execution of the NMS is then a continuous force projection process which has no exit strategy or end-state and conserves our limited defense resources. The continuous forward deployment and engagement with joint and combined forces of a capabilities-based ARSOF task force is an operational imperative for executing the pre-emptive "Bush Doctrine."

This operational concept for the execution of the NSS makes the most of our limited defense resources. The Objective Force Concepts for ARSOF (Initial Draft), reinforces the continuous forward deployment and engagement strategy. Objective force ARSOF will develop full spectrum operations capabilities and organize in self-contained, deployable units with enhanced forward stationing and continuous deployments that assures allies, dissuades competition, deters aggression, and defeats adversaries decisively with only modest reinforcement from outside the theater.<sup>14</sup> Full Spectrum Unconventional Operations will enable ARSOF to conduct theater security cooperation activities that establish linkages to the people, governments, and militaries of other nations. Full Spectrum Unconventional Operations (FSUO) will integrate joint, interagency, coalition, and multinational teams to create dominant situational understanding, degrade anti-access and area denial strategies, and accelerate post conflict operations. The table below illustrates how ARSOF assigned missions transform from primary and collateral missions (Table 1) to FSUO (Table 2).

<b>USASOC</b> Strategic Planning Guidance			
	<b>Unconventional Warfare Operations</b> Through, with or by indigenous or surrogate forces	<b>Foreign Internal Defense Operations</b> Through, with or by indigenous or surrogate forces	Unilateral Operations By US Government forces only
Core Tasks	UW: guerrilla warfare, subversion, sabotage, intelligence activities, & evasion & recovery	FID: to free and protect a society from subversion, lawlessness, and insurgency.	Unilateral: Overt, covert, & clandestine operations conducted by US forces
	Counter-proliferation	Counter-proliferation	Counter-proliferation
	Combating Terrorism (CbT): Anti- Terrorism & Counter Terrorism	CbT: Anti-Terrorist & Counter Terrorism	CbT: Anti Terrorism & Counter Terrorism
	Special Reconnaissance--SR	SR	SR
	Direct Action--DA	DA	DA
	PSYOP		
	Civil Affairs		
	Information Operations--IO	IO	IO
Collateral Activities	Counterdrug	Counterdrug	Counterdrug
	Foreign Humanitarian Assistance	Foreign Humanitarian Assistance	Foreign Humanitarian Assistance
	Personnel Recovery: Unconventional Assisted Recovery--UAR	Personnel Recovery: UAR & Search and Rescue--SAR	Personnel Recovery. Combat SAR & SAR
		Security Assistance	
	Special Activities	Special Activities	Special Activities
	Coalition Integration/Support	Coalition Integration/Support	
	Humanitarian De-mining	Humanitarian De-mining	
Other Tasks	Non-Combatant Evacuation--NEO	NEO	NEO
	Peace Enforcement	Peace Enforcement	Peace Enforcement
	Peacekeeping	Peacekeeping	Peacekeeping

TABLE 2 FULL SPECTRUM UNCONVENTIONAL OPERATIONS

Again, objective force concepts for ARSOF do not compete with conventional forces, but instead offer the combatant commander relevant capabilities not resident in conventional force structure. The unique ability to execute FSUO makes ARSOF the force of choice for continuous deployment in support of the force projection requirements for successful execution of the NSS and NMS. The role of ARSOF in force projection is to integrate objective force capabilities with the ability to conduct emerging mission activities such as information operations, theater security cooperation activities, military transformation and Joint Presence Policy.

## **INFORMATION OPERATIONS**

Information operations are a FSUO core task and can be defined as actions taken to achieve information superiority by affecting adversary information and information systems while defending one's own information and information systems.<sup>15</sup> Information operations require technical and non-technical means to influence perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of selected foreign target audiences as well as deny, destroy or deceive adversary information and decision processes while protecting our own.<sup>16</sup>

Information operations have five primary themes: civil affairs, psychological operations, operational security, deception, and public affairs.<sup>17</sup> The availability of and access to information will continue to proliferate as technology improves and costs decrease, speeding the communication of events and the impressions of people to these events as they happen in real time or near-real time around the world, thus creating competition and challenges to ARSOF's ability in influencing indigenous populations and militaries.<sup>18</sup> ARSOF conducts both offensive and defensive information operations primarily through psychological operations, civil affairs, and operational security activities creating a disparity between what we know about our operational environment and operations within it and what the enemy knows about his operational environment.<sup>19</sup> The result is information superiority.

ARSOF possesses the unique ability to work in, among and through the local populace to enhance both information and intelligence gathered from those indigenous contacts based on numerous deployments to their countries.<sup>20</sup> Information operations provide the combatant commander with a better understanding of the battlespace and make it increasingly difficult for the enemy to achieve an equivalent understanding, thus reducing the speed and effectiveness of the enemy's decision-making ability and thereby reducing the need to commit conventional forces.<sup>21</sup> The continuous deployment and engagement of an ARSOF task force provides the combatant commander with invaluable knowledge (continuously updated as an element of routine assessment studies) of the capabilities of the regional infrastructure, including ports,



airfields, road networks, medical facilities, logistical sustainment systems, fuel distribution and manufacturing systems, communications and control centers and other areas of interest.<sup>22</sup> When a crisis occurs, the ARSOF Task Force can quickly provide “ground truth” to assist in courses of action development by the combatant commander.

The predominant challenge to executing the pre-emptive NSS and NMS may fall within the public affairs area of information operations. An example of the challenges ahead might be found in the following analysis of the “Bush Doctrine” published in the Los Angeles Times. William Pfaff, writing for the Los Angeles Times, says that the “Bush Doctrine” is “an implicit American denunciation of the modern state order that has governed international relations since the Westphalian Settlement of 1648.”<sup>23</sup> The Westphalian Settlement recognized the sovereignty and legal equality of states as the foundation of international order. Mr. Pfaff fears that the NSS subordinates the security of every other nation to that of the U.S., and if the U.S. unilaterally determines that a state is a threat or harbors a terrorist threat, the U.S. will preemptively intervene to eliminate the threat (if necessary) by accomplishing a “regime change.”<sup>24</sup> The first challenge of the new NSS and NMS might very well involve public affairs, and the impact on information operations, of the pre-emptive policy and the military role in force projection. ARSOF must be “transformational” in keeping the public informed of trends, policies and activities regarding theater security cooperation plans, transformation, and Joint Presence Policy. In order to keep the citizenry informed, the ARSOF task force must integrate all methods of getting the media engaged early, so that the military story is the first one released in the case of pre-emptive strikes and force projection. A public affairs capability must be integrated into the ARSOF task force to enhance information superiority.

Adversaries will take advantage of the power of public information to affect both domestic and foreign perceptions and attempt to undermine the political will and international influence of the United States.<sup>25</sup> The ARSOF Task Force, continuously deployed in support of each combatant commander, is the first military force projected that is fully capable of gaining information superiority and possibly eliminating the need to employ additional forces into a combat situation. Theater security cooperation, transformation and joint presence policy are mutually inclusive of the operational benefits gained through effective information operations.

#### **THEATER SECURITY COOPERATION**

Theater security cooperation activities contribute to, and benefit from, effective information operations. ARSOF habitually contributes to theater security cooperation activities which improve interoperability with allies and coalition partners and provide opportunities for the

United States to examine existing relationships and seek new partnerships with nations committed to fighting global terrorism.<sup>26</sup> An active theater security cooperation plan is essential to force projection. Military presence and overseas training exercises assist in creating a secure and stable environment in key regions. ARSOF security cooperation capabilities include defense cooperation; unilateral, joint, and multinational training and exercises; humanitarian relief actions; infrastructure development; security assistance; training in and supporting counter-narcotics, demining operations, anti-and counter terrorism training and operations, and training counterinsurgency operations.<sup>27</sup> These operations demonstrate U.S. determination in honoring global commitments and responsibilities. The presence of U.S. forces overseas is a symbol of commitment to allies and friends, while providing credible combat forces forward to rapidly respond to and swiftly defeat aggression. Theater security cooperation plans developed and executed by the combatant commanders contribute to deterrence, enhance interoperability with allied forces, and help to prevent the development of power vacuums and instability worldwide.

Having credible combat forces forward deployed and engaged in peacetime, whether permanently stationed, rotationally deployed, or deployed temporarily for exercises or military-to-military interactions better positions the United States to respond rapidly to crises, permitting them to be first on the scene. Expensive forward basing facilities or complex agreements regarding sovereign bases such as those in Europe, Japan and Southeast Asia may not be required. The Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) recommends pursuing arrangements such as the U.S. currently has with Singapore – a small permanent liaison staff and regular temporary training deployments by larger combat units to facilities owned and operated by the host country.<sup>28</sup> The QDR also recommends committing resources to upgrade critical overseas facilities that have been in use since World War II, such as the U.S. base in Diego Garcia.<sup>29</sup> ARSOF routinely uses these overseas facilities to project force and conduct information operations and theater security cooperation activities.

Theater security cooperation activities and operations of Special Forces with supporting Civil Affairs, Psychological Operations, and, as required, conventional forces, presents a politically viable and relatively low-cost means to maintain U.S. forward presence. The small footprint of many theater security cooperation activities reduces the political liability to host governments and the United States.<sup>30</sup> Theater security cooperation plans may include small unconventional footprints in countries not necessarily receptive to U.S. objectives, and the costs of these small numbers of forward-deployed forces are lower (both economically and politically)

and more responsive to political and resource constraints than those of large conventional forward-stationed forces.<sup>31</sup>

## **TRANSFORMATION**

Military transformation is a sustained, iterative, and dynamic process that integrates new concepts, processes, technologies, and organizational redesign and seeks to ensure a substantive margin of advantage over potential adversaries while minimizing the chances and consequences of surprise.<sup>32</sup> The transformation of military forces will, and should, impact each service and every combatant commander. The military transformation from a threat oriented, requirements-based force to a capabilities-based force with overwhelming force projection capabilities (as required by the NMS) must be constant, rapidly executed, and transparent to the challenges of current worldwide contingency operations. In order to project the force, promote security and deter aggression, the U.S. military must explore new and faster ways to employ existing capabilities; more rapidly integrate select new technologies in fielded forces, and undertake organizational changes that increase the flexibility, utility, and effectiveness of the military.<sup>33</sup>

The QDR recommends that the U.S. reshape its military forces to be more deployable, sustainable, and flexible, and in the case of the European theater, less oriented toward heavy combat operations.<sup>34</sup> Eliminating combat-heavy forces would be extremely unwise, but exchanging some portion of the existing heavy brigades for new, medium-weight units would greatly enhance the military's ability to promote security and deter aggression effectively in all operational theaters.<sup>35</sup> However, the QDR warns that finding creative strategies to remain sufficiently interoperable with allies while avoiding dumbing down the transformation process will be one of the more challenging tasks facing the United States in the future.<sup>36</sup> The ARSOF task force, forward deployed and continuously engaged, provides a deployable, sustainable, and flexible force capable of enhancing interoperability and promoting transformation through exercises and experiments with joint and combined forces.

Transformation, information operations and theater security cooperation activities must include the implementation of the Joint Force concept. The Joint Force is a capabilities-based force of sufficient size, depth, flexibility and combat power to defend the homeland; maintain effective overseas presence; and conduct a wide range of concurrent activities.<sup>37</sup> Within the NMS, tasks assigned to the Joint Force include information operations, space operations, forcible entry and the effective use of special operations forces. The NMS further states that the Joint Force must demonstrate an effective degree of interoperability, integration and versatility

among military services. However, the military service chiefs are unlikely to transform into an effective Joint Force unless provided with direct guidance and additional resources, neither of which are identified in the NMS. The NMS is flawed in that it includes no implementation guidance to the military service chiefs and combatant commanders for achieving the ambitious requirements for force projection. There are few courses of action regarding the call for a preemptive, capabilities-based force capable of projecting power into any geographical region. The NMS states that transformation experiments and exercises, Joint Force deployments, and theater security cooperation activities should be conducted “in-stride” for the most direct impact on force projection. However, implementation guidance must be developed, ensuring balance among competing priorities to facilitate the military service chiefs and combatant commanders in making the best use of limited resources and achieving the “promote security and deter aggression” objective.

One important transformational concept that is currently being exercised by the U.S. Joint Forces Command is the Standing Joint Force Headquarters. The Standing Joint Force Headquarters (SJFHQ) consists of an experienced team of planning, operations, information management and information superiority experts which are embedded in the combatant commander’s staff.<sup>38</sup> When a crisis or contingency operation occurs, the SJFHQ is established and dedicated solely to the combatant commander’s planning process. The SJFHQ has the capability to coordinate with academic, industry and governmental agencies, as well as maintain a reach-back capability to strategic planning and intelligence organizations, assisting in the planning process.<sup>39</sup>

Another transformational concept involves the deployment of objective force Special Forces, as articulated in the ARSOF Transformation Organizational and Operational Plan, and incorporates the continuous deployment of a Theater Special Forces Command. The Theater Special Forces Command is a forward-stationed, self-sustaining operational C2 headquarters capable of directing and supporting a continuous flow of forward-deployed operational detachments, whose regional focus improves intelligence capabilities, enhances information operations, and contributes to the global intelligence picture.<sup>40</sup> Objective force Special Forces provides for organizational changes that increase the flexibility, utility and effectiveness of all forces deployed as part of a SJFHQ.

The Theater Special Forces Command, which includes an ARSOF task force organized to meet combatant commander requirements, is ideally suited to conduct transformation experiments and exercises “in-stride,” enhancing the ability to rapidly integrate select new technologies in fielded forces. Joint force operational experiments should be conducted with the

ARSOF task force during their preparation for deployment training. Operational experiments would then become operational exercises during pre-deployment training and continue as the ARSOF task force deployed and trained with joint and combined forces. The experiment and exercise concept would essentially allow twelve months--six months for experimentation and six months of exercises--to develop and test operational concepts with dedicated forces conducting Joint/Combined Exchange Training, Joint Chiefs of Staff level exercises and other theater security cooperation activities. Integrating transformation experiments and exercises with actual deployments provides immediate feedback to joint force commanders. Transformational concepts such as Rapid Decisive Operations and Effects Based Operations would be immediately implemented, rejected, or further tailored to meet the specific needs of deployed joint force commanders. Cost savings associated with experimenting and exercising with forces already deployed could fund additional force structure or enhance operational capabilities.

An old Army saying is "the military should train as it fights, and will fight like it trains." Full implementation of the SJFHQ will provide the combatant commander with an embedded, high performance joint team with extensive pre-crisis knowledge and experience that understands joint command and control processes. Implementation of the Theater Special Forces Command provides a functional command and control organization capable of sustaining the continuous deployment of a regionally oriented ARSOF task force. Once these transformational initiatives, experiments and organizational changes are conducted "in-stride" as required by the NMS, and incorporated into routine exercises and theater security cooperation activities, resources to fulfill operational shortfalls will be better justified and more readily approved.

The requirement to preemptively project a capabilities-based military force anywhere in the world on short notice is one of the most difficult, demanding and resource intensive aspects of the NSS and NMS. The military should transform and project as much power forward as feasible, quickly and efficiently while incorporating "in-stride" lessons learned in terms of joint doctrine, organization, training, material, leadership and education, personnel and facilities. Military power must focus on force projection in order to provide security and deter aggression as required by the NSS and NMS. The mission of the military service chiefs and combatant commanders is to bring the transformational concepts and experiments involving force projection in line with current, ongoing operations. ARSOF provides a relevant, flexible, adaptable and economical force fully capable of projecting power and supporting military transformation initiatives and exercises.

## **JOINT PRESENCE POLICY**

The Quadrennial Defense Review Report, dated September 30, 2001, calls for the establishment of a Joint Presence Policy which will build on the existing Global Naval Forces Presence Policy and establish steady-state levels of air, land, and naval presence in critical regions around the world.<sup>41</sup> The United States requires flexible military capabilities and adaptable decision making processes in order to execute a wide range of military objectives which may include seizing and occupying territory, destroying an enemy's war-making capabilities, or securing lines of communication.<sup>42</sup> Forward deployed forces gain invaluable familiarization with potential conflict environments, intelligence focus and flows are established before a crisis, communications paths are strengthened, and the climatic impact on equipment is assessed prior to an emergency or contingency situation.<sup>43</sup> Joint Presence Policy would synchronize deployments and facilitate cross-Service trades for presence and deterrence, allowing for better coordination in the readiness and operational tempo of all U.S. Forces.<sup>44</sup> In order to support the QDR recommendation, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) must direct a Joint Presence Policy that focuses on the military service roles identified in the NMS. This will assist each military service in defining transformational objectives, determining proper levels of theater security cooperation activities, and implementing transformational concepts such as the SJFHQ. Once the Joint Presence Policy is implemented, combatant commanders must then review their JCSP and determine if the current level of ARSOF force structure is sufficiently available and apportioned.

An effective model for the continuous deployment of an ARSOF task force might be the Global Naval Force Presence Policy (GNFPP). The GNFPP provides a basis for the Navy's force structure, transformational initiatives, and theater security cooperation activities during continuous worldwide deployments. The CJCS specifies the force projection requirements for the U.S. Navy through the GNFPP. The GNFPP provides scheduling guidance for the employment of Navy Carrier Battle Groups and Amphibious Ready Groups in support of unified command requirements.<sup>45</sup> The only sure way to prepare for and meet the broad roles of the current NMS (protect, prevent and prevail) is to continuously project a robust ARSOF Task Force capable of not only force projection, but fully engaged in information operations, theater security cooperation activities, and military transformation.

The forward presence and continuous deployment of an ARSOF task force provides a manageable, economically feasible level of ground forces for enhancing stability and security, deterring aggression, defending national interest abroad and reducing the probability of conflict. ARSOF need not be tied to expensive, conventional force forward basing arrangements, but

deployment locations and missions should be tailored to meet combatant commander requirements. For example, if current events indicate a heightened possibility of conflict in a country such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the combatant commander might deploy his ARSOF task force to the neighboring country of Zambia as a flexible deterrent option to deter aggression, defend national interests, or reduce the probability of conflict. While deployed, the ARSOF task force can also accomplish all combatant commander theater security cooperation activities.

Theater security cooperation activities currently assigned to ARSOF include joint/combined exchange training, CJCS directed exercises, and Department of State funded initiatives such as Partnership for Peace, the African Crisis Response Initiative, and Operation Focus Relief in Nigeria. The operational expertise and mutual trust gained in exercises with friends and allies provide a solid foundation upon which coalitions are built.<sup>46</sup> Most importantly, the advantage of operating forward is the ability to respond rapidly with U.S. armed might at or near trouble spots with such rapidity that a large force might not be required to resolve the crisis.<sup>47</sup> The well-balanced ARSOF task force, deployed in support of Joint Presence Policy, is fully capable of developing operational expertise and providing a rapid response capability, with friends, allies and coalition forces. As part of the Joint Presence Policy, combatant commanders should review their requirements and develop theater security cooperation plans which take into account the continuous deployment of an ARSOF task force.

A truly effective Joint Presence Policy will be transformational in identifying ARSOF requirements, justifying the right force structure, and determining the appropriate level of engagement required to meet force projection requirements. Like the Navy's GNFP, ARSOF must be force structured to consider forces deployed, forces preparing to deploy, transitional forces and forces being maintained. Expansion or reduction of ARSOF force structure will be determined by the requirements of the combatant commander and the Joint Presence Policy.

## **CONCLUSION**

What follows are three common sense recommendations regarding the ARSOF role in force projection. First, immediately implement the Quadrennial Defense Review Report's recommendation regarding the Joint Presence Policy. This paper has shown that the most capable, adaptable, and flexible force available in meeting Joint Presence Policy requirements is the ARSOF task force. Six month deployments of an ARSOF task force will assist transformational efforts by identifying operational shortfalls "in-stride" and help the joint force to meet operational requirements. Joint force operational experiments must be conducted by

ARSOF as an integral part of their preparation for deployment training. Operational experiments will then become operational exercises as the ARSOF task force deploys. This experiment and exercise concept will essentially allow twelve months, with six months experimentation and six months of exercises, for developing and testing concepts such as the SJFHQ with dedicated forces that are committed to theater security cooperation activities and contingency operations. Experiment and exercise results could be immediately analyzed and implemented, as appropriate, by the joint force commander.

Second, combatant commanders must review JSCP apportioned forces and determine if there is enough ARSOF in the current force structure to meet Joint Presence Policy requirements. For example, the Navy has determined that twelve Carrier Battle Groups are required in order to continuously project three. This force structure considers four stages of deployment: forces deployed, forces preparing to deploy, transitional forces and forces in maintenance. If four ARSOF task forces are then required to meet Joint Presence Policy requirements, then each component of ARSOF will require a corresponding increase in force structure.

The recommended base level of force structure for the ARSOF task force is the augmented Special Forces battalion. Additional assets include company level special operations aviation and support units, a Ranger platoon, and detachment level Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations units. The ARSOF task force should deploy for no more than 180 days, and there must be two task force deployments per year in each combatant commander area of responsibility. Two ARSOF task force deployments per year for each combatant commander will reduce overall deployment costs which will fund additional force structure and enhance information operations, theater security cooperation activities, transformation initiatives and Joint Presence Policy by providing a cohesive ARSOF task force focused on complex missions. Other forward stationed ARSOF will not be considered in the rotational mix because of their current theater mission requirements

Finally, the ARSOF task force has to aggressively pursue information superiority when deployed in support of joint presence policy. Initiatives may include recruiting volunteer journalists from well know news agencies, providing them basic military training, then assigning them to the ARSOF task force to provide an immediate reporting capability. Another initiative might include recruiting and building a force of ARSOF oriented reserve public affairs officers and exercising their expertise during routine ARSOF task force deployments. Robert Kaplan summed up the fears of the citizenry regarding information operations in his book *Warrior Politics* when he wrote, "The short limited wars and rescue operations with which we shall be



engaged will go unsanctioned by Congress and the citizenry; so, too, will pre-emptive strikes against the computer networks of our adversaries and other defense-related measures that in many instances will be kept secret. Collaboration between the Pentagon and corporate America is necessary, and will grow. Going to war will be less and less a democratic decision.”<sup>48</sup> The ARSOF task force must be innovative executing information operations that address the concerns of all Americans regarding force projection.

These recommendations provide mission focus, operational efficiency and relevancy to the many missions that ARSOF currently conduct in support of regional combatant commanders. ARSOF force projection deployments in support of the Joint Presence Policy provide a model for determining future conventional force requirements while immediately meeting steady-state levels of air, land, and naval presence in critical regions around the world. As stated throughout this paper, the ARSOF role in force projection includes information operations, theater security cooperation activities, and transformation experiments and exercises in support of the Joint Presence Policy. Army Special Operations Forces provide a proven combat tested model for the future in each of the critical areas identified by the President and Secretary of Defense.

WORD COUNT =6,121

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> "The Uses of American Power," Chicago Tribune, 24 September 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Department of the Army, Movement Control, Field Manual 55-10 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 9 February 1999), 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> George W. Bush, The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (Washington, D.C.: The White House, September 2002), 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Richard B. Meyers, National Military Strategy (Pre-Decisional Draft) (Washington, D.C.: The Joint Staff, September 2002), page iii.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., iii.

<sup>10</sup> Department of the Army, Movement Control, Field Manual 55-10 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 9 February 1999), 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> Roger Cliff, Sam J. Tangredi, and Christine E. Wormuth, "The Future of U.S. Overseas Presence," in QDR 2001 Strategy Driven Choices for America's Security, ed. Michele A. Flournoy (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2001), 235.

<sup>12</sup> Meyers, 26-27.

<sup>13</sup> Department of the Army, Doctrine for Army Special Operations Forces, Field Manual 100-25 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 1 August 1999) 2-2.

<sup>14</sup> Department of the Army, Objective Force Concepts for Army Special Operations Forces (Initial Draft), TRADOC Pamphlet 525-3-XX (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 26 July 2002), 1.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Joint Forces Command, "Joint Forces Command Glossary." Available from <http://www.jfcom.mil/about/glossary.htm>; Internet; accessed 23 September 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Meyers, 27.

<sup>17</sup> Karlton D. Johnson, "Rethinking Joint Information Operations," Signal 57 (October 2002): 57.

<sup>18</sup> Department of the Army, Objective Force Concepts for Army Special Operations Forces (Initial Draft), TRADOC Pamphlet 525-3-XX (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 26 July 2002), 10.

<sup>19</sup> Peter J. Schoomaker, Army Special Operations Forces, Vision 2010, (Fort Bragg, North Carolina: United States Army Special Operations Command, 7 April 1997) 7.

<sup>20</sup> Michael R. Kershner, "Unconventional Warfare, the Most Misunderstood Form of Military Operations," Special Warfare Magazine 14 (Winter 2001): 4.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Objective Force Concepts for ARSOF, p.14

<sup>23</sup> William Pfaff, "A Radical Rethink of International Relations," International Herald Tribune, 3 October 2002.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Meyers, 6.

<sup>26</sup> Meyers, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Department of the Army, Special Forces Operational and Organizational Plan (Final Draft), TRADOC Pamphlet 525-3-XX (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 6 June 2002), p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Cliff, Tangredi, and Wormuth, 258. Regular deployments of land-based forces to these partner countries would provide an opportunity to train in a variety of regional environments, facilitate interoperability with allies and potential coalition partners, and deter regional aggression. They also would increase the logistical and political ability of the U.S. to operate out of those countries in a contingency, whether interstate war or humanitarian crisis.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>30</sup> Department of the Army, Special Forces Operational and Organizational Plan (Final Draft), TRADOC Pamphlet 525-3-XX (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 6 June 2002), p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Meyers, 18.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>34</sup> Cliff, Tangredi, and Wormuth, 243.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 244.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 242

<sup>37</sup> Meyers, 24.

<sup>38</sup> U.S. Joint Forces Command, "Standing Joint Forces Headquarters." Available from [http://www.jfcom.mil/about/fact\\_sjfhq.htm](http://www.jfcom.mil/about/fact_sjfhq.htm); Internet; accessed 23 September 2002.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Department of the Army, Special Forces Operational and Organizational Plan (Final Draft), TRADOC Pamphlet 525-3-XX (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 6 June 2002), p. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Department of Defense, Quadrennial Defense Review Report, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, September 30, 2001), 35.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 12

<sup>43</sup> Department of the Navy. "Forward...From the Sea Update, Naval Force Presence Essential for a Changing World," Available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/policy/fromsea/ftsunfp.txt>; Internet; accessed 4 March 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Department of Defense, Quadrennial Defense Review Report, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, September 30, 2001), 35.

<sup>45</sup> Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Operations J-3. "Regional Perspectives," Available from <http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/core/regional.html>; Internet; accessed 4 March 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Department of the Navy. "Forward...From the Sea Update, Naval Force Presence Essential for a Changing World," Available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/policy/fromsea/ftsunfp.txt>; Internet; accessed 4 March 2003.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Robert D. Kaplan, Warrior Politics (New York: Random House, 2002), 117.



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